was that large numbers of refugees from the south were sent to the northern area. The destruction of the heavily populated south and central areas, with their many villages, gave new prominence to the northern district whose villages, much less damaged and less densely populated, were now in the best preserved part of the island. The roles of the two regions had, in a sense, been reversed. The northern region was no longer a rustic hinterland.

In 1945, the Okinawans came under the direct military government of the Americans, and from these early beginnings, which in the heat of conflict were scarcely more than compounds for the relief and care of refugees, there has evolved the extensive present civil administration and the native government.

The Americans have thus been the most recent arrivals on an island with a long history of inertia and change. The results of this last, and probably greatest intrusion into the culture of Okinawa cannot yet be predicted. This cultural influence is a stronger, certainly a much different one, than the great changes which came about when the Japanese set on their course to make over Ryukyuan, especially Okinawan life.

The war years, with conscription and service in the Japanese army in other parts of the empire, the disruption and deaths in the war, were effective in preventing the handing down of the traditional culture from one generation to another. This may mean a more ready receptivity to newer influences. It will be clear in the pages that follow that many aspects of the culture, familiar to the old, are now unknown to the young.

Whether the American influence will be a conservative one, in the sense that the fundamental attitudes and framework of the culture as it existed before the war, will be retained, or whether it will be a revolutionary intrusion remains to be seen. Will, for example, the individualism of the American culture tend to break down the structure of the family system? Or will American influences assert themselves within the framework of the culture, and will the flexible family system absorb only surface influences, leaving the basic culture as it is?

On a preceding page, the point was made that in the earlier periods there probably was not a homogeneous Okinawan culture, that its centers, Naha and Shuri, were under strong contemporary Chinese and Japanese influences, and that in the rural areas an older culture existed relatively unmolested. This gap was narrowed after the island became the seat of a province of the Japanese empire, through such measures as the new land law and the introduction of mass education, direct interferences were made in the traditional life of the rural areas.

In my opinion, the American influence so far has been to close this gap even more, but for different reasons. The Americans have made no direct interferences in the lives of the villages, except in those cases

traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheeled cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence, many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved. Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil, is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar protection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

Virtually nothing is known, to my knowledge, of the growth of population in Okinawa in historic times. Early travellers made some estimates, but they gave no basis for them. In a previous chapter, it was mentioned that the introduction of the sweet potato in the early 17th century must have allowed a greater population on the island than had hitherto been the case. No doubt also malaria and other diseases kept the population down, at least until the latter part of the 19th century.[1] This ignorance of population growth extends down to recent history.

There seems to have been very little immigration to the Ryukyus and the population has probably been homogeneous for long periods of time. There were many Japanese in Okinawa, but these were largely in the towns and main cities. Most of them left after the war.[2] This meant that the population of Okinawa continued to be made up of preponderantly the native born, though in recent years there has been some immigration of Amamians.

Emigration during the 20th century has been the outstanding fact in the population history of the island. Little is known of the nature of this emigration, but it is believed to have started in the early years of the twentieth century. Until World War II, emigration was the answer to the problem of a population that was growing beyond the ability of the island's resources to support it. It has been estimated that the emigration from Okinawa prefecture in the period 1920-1940 was over 193,400 persons. This represented a loss of 98% of the estimated natural increase for the 1920-1940 period. It was 34% of the prefecture's total 1920 population.[3]

The Okinawan campaign, also, was accompanied by large scale displacements of people who remained on the island. It was estimated that in a pre-invasion shifting of the population, over 3/4 of the people

[Text continues on top of p. 60--analyst]

1 Dr. Green in 1853 estimated the population of Okinawa at 150,000 or possibly 200,000. But this was only a crude guess. Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 36. For population estimates prior to World War II, see CA Handbook, as cited, 45-51.

2 As of Nov. 30, 1946, 57,345 Japanese, 1,755 Koreans, and 21 Formosans had been repatriated from the Ryukyus, with 3,706 Japanese remaining to be repatriated. See note 3 following.

3 Newman, Marshall T. and Eng, Roman, L. The Ryukyu people, a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of physical anthropology, n.s., 5 (1947), 113-57. Reference on pp. 135-36. This estimate was made by subtracting the estimated natural increase from the total increase, 1920-40, making allowances for the under registration of births. On post-war population history immediately following the war, see pp. 135-46 of this article.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

727 166 were in the north and central portions of the island.[4] During the campaign, the displacements of people and the destruction of villages in the south were particularly striking. Large numbers were sent to the Kunigami region. "There they overwhelmed the local inhabitants and all suffered great privations, despite the efforts of U. S. personnel to properly feed, clothe, and house them." By June 1, 1946, 138,000 had been resettled, and as of July 1 of the same year, there were still 125,000 displaced persons on the island.

167 728 The war and the subsequent occupation have stopped the historic emigration of Okinawans. Repatriation began in 1946. By November 30, 1946, a year and four months after the conclusion of the Okinawan campaign, 183,077 Okinawans had been returned, 142,713 from Japan, 26,003 from the Pacific islands, 12,154 from Formosa, 1954 from Hawaii, and 253 from Korea. An additional 36,720 were awaiting repatriation at this time. The result was that "by November 30, 1946, repatriation brought the population up to within 40,000 of its early 1944 level." The total 161 population of the Ryukyus on February 22, 1944 was given as 857,019, and 817,160 on November 30, 1946. In this short period of 16 months, the war losses had been largely made up. While these figures are Ryukyu totals, Okinawa island, as the largest and most populous island in the chain undoubtedly reflected these trends.[5] According to the 1950 census, the population of Okinawa island was 517,600.

The twentieth century history of the population of Okinawa is therefore one of large scale emigration up to the war, wholesale displacement of people within the island during the campaign of 1945, the repatriation of considerable numbers of Ryukyuans following the conclusion of the war, and the present period of growth of the population under conditions of peace, health measures, and without the historic outlet of emigration.

2

Village Populations and Their Characteristics

162 727 One can only surmise what has happened to the population structure of Okinawan villages as a result of the war. The old records which would furnish materials for detailed comparisons have been destroyed; hence, one can know only vaguely how the present characteristics of village populations compare with the pre-war conditions. The contemporary characteristics of the population of each of the villages studied and for the totals of each of their respective townships are shown in the accompanying population pyramids and in the tables illustrating sex and age distribution at five year age intervals (Western age count).

In the totals of the three villages and the two townships females substantially outnumber males, though there is considerable variation in the numbers and proportions within the age groups.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 61 -- analyst]

4 Ibid, 137. Quotation is on pp. 140-41.

5 Norman and Eng, as cited, 140-41, 143. See also the very interesting article of Henry S. Bennett, The Impact of Invasion and Occupation on the Civilians of Okinawa. United States Naval Institute Proceedings, 72 (1946), 263-75.

593 596 tered in the villages--a first son may be passed over in favor of a second son because of mental disability, gross incompetence, or excessive drinking, or the father, by selling his land to his other sons may in effect disinherit his first son. These actions involve [428] [691] the courts and it is rare for villagers to engage in litigation. In practice, the first son almost invariably succeeds. On his marriage, the first son and his wife live in the home of his parents. There are some exceptions to this. Since the war, some first sons in agri- [464] cultural communities have found opportunities in business in Naha, in larger towns like Itoman or Nago, in military government or in Okinawan government positions. In this case, the first son does not live with his [597] parents, but he continues with this new work in the strange town, the parents on their retirement, or as they become more helpless, joining the son. But in cases where the first son continues in the occupation of his father, this is the usual and expected practice. Only long standing incompatability between father and son prevents such an arrangement.

593 464 166 167 One point regarding the future of the family system that may assume importance in Okinawa is that the responsibilities of the first son increase with any decline in opportunities for succeeding sons. The traditional outlet for sons other than the first in Oriental countries has been migration to the cities, to lands of new settlement, or emigration to foreign countries. In Okinawa, emigration to various parts of the world, the South Seas, Hawaii, Peru, Brazil has been the most important of these outlets. Its history cannot be understood without appreciating this fact. Both first and succeeding sons have emigrated. With the virtual stoppage of emigration, the only solution for second and succeeding sons would seem to lie in opportunities coming from military installations, government work, industrial and urban development, in addition to the present opportunities in agriculture. If with a growing population, the family system begins to break apart, it will probably be first noticed in the inability of the first sons to bear increased responsibilities.

593 596 For this reason, it is interesting to record some observed attitudes of first and other sons in the villages studied. These attitudes are personal ones. No inter-village comparisons can be made. The first is one of pride in being a first son and in assuming the headship of the house but dislike of the responsibility of providing for siblings, especially when the estate is not large. Dislike of the responsibilities of being the first son was most observable in Minatogawa. Here the lack of land, succession merely to a house site, a boat or fishing gear, but with the same responsibility for care for younger brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents put the clearest burden on the first son. The financial burden of paying for anniversary celebrations on the death of a relative is especially onerous. There is only minor help from younger brothers. This fact is not resented as a lack of generosity of the younger brothers who by now would have branch houses of their own; it is part of the family system. Younger brothers might contribute, as one first son jokingly said, fifty yen to a celebration that cost two thousand.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1964-1965) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen only two 226 are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, [166] leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled [438] in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and [443] peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing 226 boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able 443 women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten [262] and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. 313 Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, [423] except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is [651] levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced [185] on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned [423] by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less de- [685] pleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, [857] go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by wood- [487] cutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife [412]

623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak [854] up. Mothers bring their infants along[1] and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a 157 dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or 621 dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still [632] remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in [206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.

[166] The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A [167] second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

[1] [i.e. - to the household head meeting - ANALYST]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune.

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere.

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent.

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the individual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table 1).

Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has resulted in a tendency toward slight sound shifts in the direction of Japanese phonology; this is particularly true among the bilingual speakers. The same process is operative in the Japanese of these Okinawan speakers in that there is a tendency toward Okinawan phonology. 194 177

The real strongholds of Okinawan speech today are the family and the rural areas. In an old and relatively unchanged village like Kanegusuku little Japanese is heard despite the fact that most of the villagers are bilingual. That Okinawan is the language of the family is best demonstrated by the pre-school-age children who do not speak or understand any Japanese aside from a few greetings and polite phrases. Likewise men over sixty and women over fifty-five usually cannot speak Japanese. The remainder of the village, approximately seventy percent of the total, is bilingual; however, this figure is somewhat misleading in so far as actual usage is concerned. A majority of the married women use Japanese infrequently since Okinawan is the language of their daily lives, which are largely confined to the village and home. For the men, a number of whom have seen service abroad in the Japanese forces, there is a greater freedom of movement and a wider range of contacts providing more occasion for the use of Japanese. Yet within the village many of them preferred to use Okinawan, and even the high school students were inclined to shed their Japanese on returning to the village. A number of bilingual informants ascribed this preference for Okinawan to the influence of the old people who understood Japanese imperfectly or not at all. As one informant put it, "The old people in this village just don't like being spoken to in Japanese, and if some person does this, they say he is trying to be big." Undoubtedly their influence is a strong factor, but this preference is also likely attributable to a low degree of proficiency in Japanese. Prior to the postwar period few villagers obtained more than a sixth grade education; consequently, many are not as articulate in Japanese as they are in Okinawan. It should also be noted that within the village a selective factor operates so as to perpetuate the use of Okinawan. Mention is made in another section of this report of a mayor's comment to the effect that all those who receive a good education, high school or university, soon leave the village. Thus, the very group most likely to further the spread of Japanese leaves before its influence is felt. 191 178 177 621 [871] [966]

The resentment of the oldest generation toward the use of Japanese resolves itself among the younger, bilingual generations into an attitude that Japanese imparts a certain formality to an occasion, and hence situations calling for the use of Okinawan or Japanese tend to be rather compartmentalized in their minds. Formal occasions prescribe the use of Japanese and informal ones Okinawan. Village political meetings and elections were always conducted in Japanese, and when the 'son' officials made one of their periodic inspections of the village, only Japanese was used in addressing them. On the other hand the use of Japanese at a party would be regarded as too formal and a bit unfriendly, and, of course, with old people and children only Okinawan is used. Besides the formal-informal dichotomy there exists the feeling among the better-educated bilinguals that Japanese is a modern and sophisticated language whereas Okinawan is backward and rustic. 191 829 177

There are several aspects of Okinawan culture wherein the local language is used to the exclusion of Japanese; chief among these are the theater 191 178

161 The percentage growth categories used on Map 6 are as follows:

Negative Growth
Less than Okinawa Average of 22% Growth
23-39% Growth
40-100% Growth
Over 100% Growth

Population Increase During 1951 and 1952 The accelerated military construction program has been quite important in drawing people to the main island of Okinawa. This is shown by the fact that in the years 1951 and 1952 it gained over 47,000 inhabitants. More than 11,000 of these were contractors and construction workers from Japan. About 2,300 more such workers arrived from Japan in the first seven months of 1953.[1]

161 166 During this two year period, Okinawa's population increased by 5.55%. On Map 7 all areas with an increase of less than that amount are considered as areas of emigration. Those areas where the increase was more than 5.55% are shown as areas of immigration.

All urban areas except Ishikawa continued to grow. Goeku and Kadena, which had in the previous decade grown amazingly fast, continued to be among the fastest-growing 'son' on the island. On the other hand, Kunigami-son and the entire east coast north of Ishikawa City reversed the trend of growth noted on Map 6, and became areas of excessive migration. In part this was due to the improvement of roads along the east coast, thus making the urban trek easier. But it owed just as much to the demand for skilled carpenters, who were abundant along the east coast.

If data were available at the 'aza', or village area level, the urban trend could be localized with greater accuracy. Military government personnel concerned with problems on the island relative to urbanization and its pace are advised to work with population data on the village ('aza' or 'ku') level if greater accuracy is desired. This information is rarely if ever presented in that detailed form to agencies of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and local inquiry must be made.

162 The Sex Ratio Okinawa shares with most of the Orient a great density of population per arable acre of land. Aside from this, the outstanding fact about the population of Okinawa is the great preponderance of women over men. There are about 90 men for every 100 women in this area.[2] This excess of women is reflected in such sociological phenomena as prostitution, illegitimate and common law children, women functioning as heads of households, and a high fertility ratio. The reasons for the excess are somewhat complex, but the most important factor is the recent war, in which many

1 CAARI, p. 78.

2 The standard demographic definition of sex ratio is "the number of men for each 100 women."

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161
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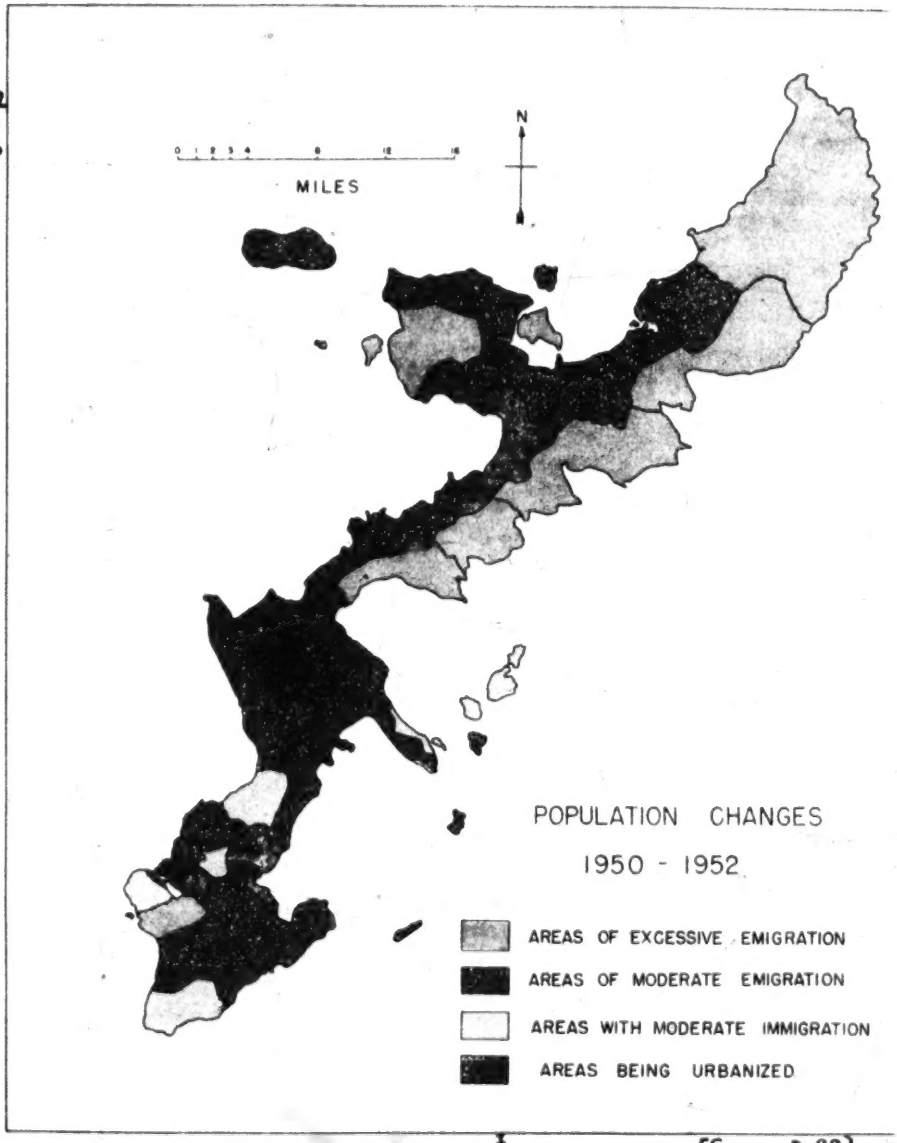

Map 7 1/4 [Facing P 98]

1/4. [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succession involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do everything possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages. 175 648 177 423 177 423 428 592 [166] [602] [621]

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, purchase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has suggested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1] 175 423 427 [471] [648] [171]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were extended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been applied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were considerably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet. 175 423 651 [311]

3. World War II and the American Occupation

175 727

During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most violent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
262 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans, and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
● 166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 64 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

621 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility.
[123] Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over [177] twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

621 727 Kanegusuku The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 464 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses, there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 464 166 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary residence in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 ($5.00) in bus fares, but certainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance 621 against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a perma- 464 nent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business 829 or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employ- [511] ment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above subsistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or house- [462] hold head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family vegetable plots.

621 464 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.